KAZAK SOCIAL STRUCTURE

INTRODUCTION

IN this paper I have attempted to explain the nature of certain features of Turco-Mongol social structure by an examination of some of the processes which appear to have been active in their development. The study is based on information gathered during field work among the Kazak from July to October 1936.[1] Most of the material, unless otherwise indicated, relates to the middle of the nineteenth century, to the period immediately preceding the Russian conquest of Central Asia.

The Kazak,[2] frequently referred to in the older ethnographic literature as Kirghiz, were until very recently a nomadic stock breeding people but are now rapidly adopting a sedentary life. They inhabit the steppe country between, roughly, the Caspian Sea and the Altai Mountains and number, according to the census of 1926, 3,959,000. Traditionally they were divided into three "hordes" or ordas: the Great Orda in the east and the Little Orda in the west, with the Middle Orda between them. They speak a Turkic language which is classed by Deny[3] with Kirghiz and Bashkir as a "western dialect." The Kazak are definitely Mongoloid in physical appearance with evidence of considerable Caucasoid admixture among the southern and western groups. Basic Kazak culture, which has been summarized by Murdock[4] is closely related in nearly every aspect with that of the Kirghiz, Turcoman, Kalmyk, and Mongols. Historically the Kazak can be first dated as a distinct people in 1465[5] although the names of some of their constituent groups may be traced much farther back.[6] They were gradually conquered by the Russians during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and now form a republic of the Soviet Union.

Although the literature on the Kazak is large the details of their social organization have remained obscure. They are usually described as divided into a large number of tribes, subtribes, gentes and "branches" whose structure, function and relation to one another are not clear. In this study I have sought to define the nature of Kazak social groupings, the process of their origin and their relation to economic life, marriage and the family, class stratification, and political administration.

[1] Field work was made possible financially by a University Fellowship from the Yale Graduate School and a grant from the Institute of Human Relations of Yale University.

[2] The present official Russian form of the name, transliterated, is Kazakh. This was adopted in order to avoid confusion with Cossack, which is also Kazak in Russian. In Kazak orthography the name is Qazaq but I have used the more familiar form.

[3] Deny, *Les Langues turques*, 202.

[4] Murdock, *Our Primitive Contemporaries*, 135–62.

[5] Muhammed Haidar, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 82.

[6] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 8.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1938) 1938 RQ8 Kazak RQ8

Kazak by birth he was educated in Tashkent and St. Petersburg and his feeling for Kazak culture is more academic than personal. To him, however, I am indebted for many valuable suggestions. 115

From my informants I have derived the general concept of Kazak social groups, as discussed on pages 17 to 22, which I have not found explicitly stated elsewhere. Of published accounts the most useful has been that of Grodekov[10] which, though primarily a study of Kazak common law, contains much valuable material on tribal organization. An analysis of Grodekov's work in French by Dingelstedt[11] has been rather artifically systematized from the point of view of European jurisprudence but I have cited it where it seems to conform to the original. 127 114

The classic accounts of Levshin[12] and Radlov[13] have been the basis of all subsequent work among the Kazak. Particularly useful information has been furnished by the work of Kharuzin,[14] Somoilovich[15] and Rudenko.[16] Other sources are included in the bibliography.[17]

It has been impossible for me as yet to cover all the material relating to Kazak culture. Only a fraction of the published accounts is available in America and even in Soviet libraries it is frequently difficult to find many articles. For suggestions of the most pertinent sources I am indebted to Academician A. N. Samoilovich of the Orientological Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The most complete bibliography of publications relating to the Kazak is that compiled by Voznesenskaia and Piotrovskii.[18] A list of bibliographies of historical and ethnographical material dealing with Central Asia in general has been collected by Pul'ner and Dobrin.[19]

In discussing Mongol social structure I have largely relied on the analysis by Vladimirtsov of material from Chinese, Mongol and Persian sources. For the early period of Mongol history, through the thirteenth century, the most important of these are the chronicles of Rashid-ad-Din and the so-called "Secret History" of the Mongols. The latter is an account of traditional history composed in Mongolia in 1240 and existing in both a Mongol and a Chinese version.[20] A Russian translation, to which I have referred, has been made from the Chinese text by Palladius.[21] A partial German translation has recently been published by Haenisch.[22]

[10] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*.
[11] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*.
[12] Levshin, *Description des hordes*.
[13] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*.
[14] Kharuzin, *Kirghizy Bukeevskoĭ Ordy*.
[15] Samoĭlovich, *Zapretnye Slova*, 161–68.
[16] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 1–72.
[17] See bibliography.
[18] Voznesenskaia and Piotrovskiĭ, *Materialy dlia Bibliografii*.
[19] Pul'ner and Dobrin, *Materialy dlia Bibliografii*, 146–60.
[20] Bartold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 43.
[21] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*.
[22] Haenisch, *Die letzten Feldzüge Cinggis Han's*, see Pelliot, *Review*, 157–67.

[See cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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127 Rashid-ad-Din was the vizier of Ghazan Khan of the Mongol dynasty in Persia. His
114 work, written between 1298 and 1307 at the commission of his sovereign, contains in addition to an extensive history very valuable accounts of the Mongol and Turkish tribes living in Central Asia in the days of Chingis. I have used the Russian translation by Berezin[23] because the French translation of Blochet[24] unfortunately does not include the section describing the nomad tribes.

Extensive commentaries on these and other oriental sources have been made by Bartold[25] and Bretschneider.[26]

I have also used the accounts of the early European travellers through Central Asia: Marco Polo,[27] Carpini and Rubruck.[28]

104 Kazak words were recorded in the orthography adopted in 1929. This orthography is based on the Latin alphabet with the addition of a few symbols for sounds not readily expressed by Latin characters. Approximate equivalents in English are as follows:

a	as in *father*
b	similar to English *b*
c	as English *sh*
ç	as *z* in *azure* (similar to French *j*)
d	similar to English *d*
e	as in *let*
ə	as the *a* in *at*
g	as in *get*
ƣ	(a velar *g*; no English equivalent)
h	similar to English *h*. (It occurs only in foreign loan words.)
i	as in *bit*
j	as *y* in *yellow* (similar to German *j*)
k	similar to English *k*
l	similar to English *l*
m	similar to English *m*
n	similar to English *n*
ŋ	as *ng* in *sing*
o	as in *force*
ɵ	(no English equivalent; similar to German *ö*)

[23] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*. The chronicles of Rashid-ad-Din should not be confused with the much later *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. The author of the latter work, Muhammad Haidar, named it in honor of Abdur Rashid Khan, ruler of Kashgar, 1533–65.

[24] Rachid-ed-Din, *Djami el-Tévarikh*.

[25] Bartold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 37–48.

[26] Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, 1: 192–207.

[27] Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*.

[28] *The Texts and Versions*.

4:Grodekov--i E-5 (ca. 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

/i/The study of the modern juridical life of the Kazakhs and Kir- 121
giz is extremely important, both for the proper organization of the administration and the courts in the midst of the nomadic population of our Central Asian regions, and equally for science.

The need has long been felt for a study of the customary law 114 •
of the non-Russians inhabiting the borderlands of the empire. Thus in the 1820s a collection of the customary law of the Siberian indigenous peoples, including the Kazakhs, was made by order of the government, under the supervision of the Governor-General of Siberia and a special commission. The collection was made by the peoples themselves, in their languages and was preserved in Russian translation in the second section of the chancellery belonging to His Own Imperial Majesty. Count Speranskii had the idea of compiling a code of all the local laws and customs in the empire, incidentally also for the Siberian indigenous peoples, and for this code the collection mentioned above could have served as material. But this idea was never carried out, and the material collected in Siberia was published only in 1876 from the copies preserved, by Professor D. Ia. Samokvasov of Warsaw University, under the title Sbornik Obychnago Prava Sibirskikh Inorodtsev / A Collection of the Customary Law of the Siberian Indigenous Peoples. At the end of this collection, in the section of Kazakh customs, there is an account of the customary law of the Kazakhs in a strictly dogmatic form, obviously of the Siberian department, i. e., primarily of the Great and Middle Hordes. There is no mention of the Kirgiz in the collection.

As can be seen from the foreword to the section on the customs of the Kazakhs, this material was compiled in a special committee with the participation of Kazakh elders. Even from a cursory reading of this section it is evident that the material of the committee was composed to a considerable degree by Kazakhs invited into the committee. Such is the chapter "On religious worship."(1)

1. For example, article 7 reads "Whoever converts a Christian to the Kazakh religion, that person will be included with the faithful in the kingdom of heaven." While article 8 says: "If a member of a Kazakh tribe accepts the Christian faith, not only will he lose his rights of succession to his own property, but if one of them who has the express purpose of being converted

is captured before he has taken the Christian faith, he must lose his life according to the law, for having offended his law."

Special attention is attracted by later articles concerning /ii/ the rights and privileges of the white bone, and cruel punishments (death penalty, lashing, cutting off parts of the body, etc.) which are completely untypical of the Kazakhs, among whom almost all transgressions were and are paid for by remunerations. (1)

1. Article 67: "If someone kills a Khodja, then the entire volost pays the kinsmen of the murdered man the same fine which is paid for the murder of seven ordinary men. If this fine is not paid, then seven of the closest relatives of the murderer in that volost must be hung, including the murderer."

Article 80: "Among the Kazakhs, the owners of Kalmuk slaves have unlimited rights over them, and can punish them if they are guilty, or even if innocent..."

Article 84: "If one, two, three or more persons kill one or several persons, then the one whom the plaintiffs demand is handed over to them for immediate execution. The wergeld /khun/ is not paid in such a case..."

Article 116: "He who violates a betrothed girl, must pay the groom for this (an enumeration follows). If the offender is unable to pay he must be put to death."

Of the same order are articles 117, 118, 119, 123, 126 and others. But the most horrible of all is article 200: If a son or daughter who is already spoken for enters into marriage with another, without the knowledge of his parents, he must die."

A. Levshin published a work in 1831 entitled Opisanie Kirgiz-Kaisatskikh Ord i Stepei /A Description of Kazakh Hordes and Steppes/

which was very skillfully compiled and serves to this day as a basis for further study of the nomads of the Kazakh steppes. It contains an account of the basic principles of Kazakh customary law, but unfortunately, it is very brief.

At the beginning of the 1850s, Bonch-Osmolovskii, an official in the Asian Department and a cultured orientalist, was working on a collection and study of data on the juridical customs of the Kazakhs. His work, however, has not been published, and is thereby lost to the cause.

In 1865 Kirgizaskaia Step' Orenburgskago Vedomstva /The Kazakh Steppe of the Orenburg Province/, was published, a book compiled by Lt. Colonel Meier of the General Staff. (2) It contains,

> 2. Materials for the geography and statistics of Russia, collected by officers of the General Staff.

juridical customs of the Kazakhs, but all this is stated very briefly and, furthermore, in the general description of manners and customs. (3)

> 3. In Krasovskii's work Oblast' Sibirskikh Kirgizov /The Region of the Siberian Kazakhs/ published in 1868, the description of the manners and customs is borrowed from Meier and Levshin, and in general contains nothing remarkable on the subject of interest to us.

This is almost all the published material in our literature at the time of the compilation (in 1865) of the Proekt /iii/ Polozheniia ob Upravlenii v Oblastiakh Semirechenskoi i Syr-Dar'inskoi /Draft of a Code for the Administration in the Semirechie and Syr-Darya Regions/. In 1867 the Turkestan Governor-Generalship was formed from this, governing on the basis of this Draft until 1887, in other words, for almost 20 years. If very great mistakes were not made in the Draft it was only because of the fortunate choice of personnel on the commission which compiled it.

During the administration of the Turkestan region by Governor General K. P. Kaufman, whose enlightened mind could not fail to perceive the need for a collection of the tenets of Kazakh customary law, attempts were made in this direction. But the desired result was not achieved, for many reasons, of which the most important was that the matter was directed by chancellory procedure.

• 114 Meanwhile , the conception of Kaufman, who encouraged the study of Central Asia in every respect, did not remain without any result. Private works appeared in print instead of official ones.

Of these, one of the more important is that of Zagriazhskii, published in 1876 in Part IV of Materialy dlia Statistiki Turkestanskago Kraya entitled "Iuridicheskii obychai kirgizov" /The juridical customs of the Kazakhs/. This work is quite complete and concerns the juridical life not only of the steppe Kazakhs but also of the Kirgiz. Its faults lie in the form of the account for everything is broken up into paragraphs and stated in strict dogmatic form, without variants according to hordes and localities and furthermore, the time of the compilations are not indicated, nor the place in which the customary laws were written down. Yet all this is of essential importance in such a work, for the juridical customs differ considerably for the Kazakhs of various hordes and localities which are far apart.

In addition to this fundamental work there are several small articles which have appeared at various times in periodicals. Of these an article by Ibragimov deserves to be mentioned, published in the Zapiski Geograficheskago Obshchestva (Vol. 8, 1878), entitled "Zametki o kirgizskom sude" /Notes on the Kazakh court/. This article is not a collection of tenets of Kazakh customary law but an outline of Kazakh court procedure and a characterization of certain customs. Among other things it contains indications which are of value to the jurist on the attitudes of the Kazakhs to Russian and Mosdem (according to the Shariat) court tenets.

The western Siberian statistical committees studying the Kazakhs /iv/ of the eastern part of the steppes, have turned their attention to their juridical life, and with this attempts have been made to make a critical study both of old materials and also of the juridical life itself.

In 1882, Pamiatnaia Knizhka Zapadnoi Sibiri /Memorial volume of Western Siberia/ was published in Omsk, in section III of which is an article by I. Kozlov entitled "Obychnoe pravo kirgizov" /The customary law of the Kazakhs/ compiled on the basis of the court decisions of the biis, taking into consideration the works of Samokvasov and Zagriazhskii, Levshin and others. In its approach this article is a critical study of the customary law of all the Kazakhs and a general characterization of it, with an indication of those innovations and changes which have entered the customary law from the Shariat and the "Vremonnoe polozhenie ob upravlenii v oblastiakh Ural'skoi,

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Turgaiskoi, Akomolinskoi i Semipalatinskoi" /Provisional Code for the administration in the Ural, Turgai, Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk regions/. The writer also includes the customs of the Kazakhs of the Turkestan region parallel to the customs of the Siberian Kazakhs.

The latest work on Kazakh customary law is the publication in 1886 in Omsk by the Semipalatinsk regional statistical committee Materialy dlia Izucheniia Iuridcheskikh Obychaev Kirgizov/ Materials for the Study of the Juridical Customs of the Kazakhs/ (Pt. 1, Material'noe Pravo /Law of Things/). Data collected by the chiefs of the uyezds of the Semipalatinsk region served as the basic materials for this book. These were collected according to a program provided in 1882 by the Governor General of Western Siberia, and this was studied and supplemented by the compiler of the book, P. E. Makovetskii, a member of the statistical committee, by means of oral inquiries in the steppe, and study of the actual decisions of the biis.

The work of Malovetskii is a valuable contribution to the literature on the customary law of the Kazakhs, containing an indication of the historic origin of certain customs, and of the influence of the Shariat and Russian laws. In addition the book contains a collection of variants of customs according to localities and the circumstances of the case, and also a critical analysis, explanations, etc.

From the first days of my entrance into the administration of the Syr-Darya region, I noted the great gap in evidence on the customary law of the Kazakhs. The material published in this field in Russia has not been very satisfactory for the local present day demands because of the extreme limitations of the materials gathered, and its completely inadequate study. In addition to this, /v/ a considerable change in the customary law has been taking place under the influence of various powerful factors. One has been the influence of Islam, whose propagation among the nomads by ishans from Bukhara, Samarkand, Kokand and Tashkent has grown more intensive since our pacification of Central Asia. There has also been the influence of the Russian dominion with new orders and civilization, the transition of the nomads to agriculture, the appearance of new types of industry, etc. The life of the Kazakh hordes and groups of tribes under the rule of the Khans and Sultans and under the strong independent kinsmen under the Kokand begs and hakims etc., is in part changed, and in part long forgotten. A broad wave of new attitudes and concepts has influenced the life of the people. Life has begun to produce new

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(178) demands to which the tenets of customary law have also been having to adapt themselves.

In 1884 I turned to the officials of the uyezd administration with the request for a collection of cusomary laws. But the material they sent, collected by illiterate translators, was of no value.

121 In January 1886 I made the acquaintance of A. N. Vyshnegorskii, who was a graduate of the Historical Philosophical Institute. While in service in Central Asia he had learned the Kazakh, Sart and Persian languages. At once it came to my mind to invite him to collect on the spot, in the actual nomadic camps and winter camps of the Kazakhs, by means of interroagation and transcription of the words of the biis and other well-informed persons.

In order to begin action, I turned to the well-known specialist in Central Asia, V. P. Nalivkin, requesting him to draw up a program for the collection of the tenets of Kazakh customary law. Mr. Nalivkin complied with my request, and in the beginning of 1886 Mr. Vyshne-
124 gorskii was sent into the area. He was told, among other things, to write down all the variants of the customary laws according to localities, and the names of his informants, and not to neglect any evidence, no matter how unimportant it seemed. Mr. Vyshnegorskii spent seven months among the nomads and collected so much material that it took about a year to analyze it. In addition there were dealings with the areas
128 to fill in gaps or to explain places which were unclear. On various cases judgments were taken from the biis' books for illustration of the material collected.

In this manner the present tome was compiled, comprising a code of the modern juridical customs of the Kazakhs of the Syr-Darya region.

In addition to the material of purely juridical character, historical narratives were collected from copies of ancient manuscripts preserved by literate Kazakhs, as well as heroic poems, superstitions, fables, riddles, charms and others. There is probably enough of this material for two more volumes. In view of this /vi/ the plan for the entire edition has been considerably expanded and been given a more general title: the Kazakhs and Kirgiz of the Syr-Darya region.

115 In the collection of the customary laws the most valuable data were furnished by the following:1)E. A. Aleksandrov, assistant to the chief of the Kazalinsk uyezd, by birth a Siberian Kazakh from the Kokchetav mountains, who has a good knowledge of the Kazakh language and is acquainted with the everyday life of the Kazakhs.

[135]

Part II. Ideas on the History of the Present-day Kirghiz-Kazaks.

Chapter 3. On the Origin of the Kirghiz-Kazaks and their Condition until their Submission to Russia in 1730.

121 The lack of authentic documents on the basis of which to write a history of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, the impossibility of taking advantage of their traditions, and our determination not to make suppositions which are pure guesses would leave us with nothing positive to say to our readers on the origin of this people if our honored orientalist, Mr. Senkovsky, had not been kind enough to give us help. Having profited from his works and his knowledge of the history of the Orient, we will complete here the account of what we know about the Kirghiz-Kazaks by glancing at their history, from their origin to the time when they began to appear in Russian chronicles, that is, until the middle of the 16th century.

173 For the last hundred years most Russians have believed and 175 written that the first Kazaks sprang from the Tatars, or took form among them, and that the name Kazak arose among them, whence it was extended to all the Kazaks [136] of former times and to those who exist today. However, specialists in Oriental history are firmly refuting this opinion to which one is so accustomed in Russia and which has given rise to so many debates among the scholars there. These specialists affirm that the Kazaks formed an independent and compact nation in the earliest centuries of our era, and some even trace their existence back to a period well before the birth of Christ. It is certain that Firdevsi (or [114] Ferdussi), who lived in 1020, that is, two centuries before the Mongols appeared in the west, spoke in his history of Rurtam of a Kazak people and Kazak khans. His work and the most ancient [101 721] Persian chronicles upon which he has drawn inform us that the ancient Kazaks, like those of today, made themselves famous by plundering and raiding and that their principal weapon was the

[136 cont.]

173 175 721 101 spear. For this reason in Asia the name Kazak began to be applied to all mounted bands armed with spears who practiced the calling of the true Kazaks, that is, who engaged in brigandage and raids upon neighboring lands. Thus the Tatar Kazaks, whom the Russians believed to be the first Kazaks, were only imitators, and their name was not Tatar but borrowed from another people. If this idea is established and irrefutable it destroys all the explanations and interpretations which have been made for the word "Kazak."

101 175 The meanings which have been given it since are based only on the conformity of certain peoples with the true and primitive Kazaks in way of life and type of arms. But the name, itself, as a proper name, does not lend itself to any translation or etymological argument. For this reason, those who have derived this word from koziavka; from koza, "goat" or "goatskin" (1);

[114]

1. Unpublished work on the Kazaks, mentioned in Karamzin's history of Russia, Vol. V.

from Kipchak (2); or from a tongue [137] of land on the Dnieper

2. Remarques sur l'histoire d'Aboulghazi [Observations on the History of Abulgazi], Part II, Chapter V.

called Kossa in Russian (1), or from Kazak, meaning Slavic general (2), or from Khozare (3); etc., have gone to useless trouble.

1. Scherèr, Annales de la petite Russie [Annals of Little Russia, Strasbourg, 1788]; and Gartknokh [Hartknoch, C.J.], Histoire de la république de Pologne [De republica Polonica..., 1687].

2. Synopsis.

3. Sestrenzcevitch /Siestrzeńcewicz/, Histoire de la Tauride /Brunswick, 1780/.

[138 cont.]
175 Naimans, Konrads, Djalairs, and Kankly mingled with the
[631 Kazaks, and their names are preserved in the descent lines,
727] tribes, and most powerful sections of the Kazak hordes.

After joining the Kazaks, some peoples, such as the Durmans, Karluks, etc., parted from them once again to rejoin the Uzbeks. But the Kazaks were reinforced from another side by various Turkic tribes [races] who joined them at the time Tashkent was taken by Shabakht Khan and after the complete destruction of the Mogul Ulus, overthrown by Khan Abdulla.

[669] We should speak here of the descendants of Khan Arslan and of the destiny of the Kazak peoples under their dominion, as well as of the successive revolutions to which they were exposed and the quick overthrow of the power which they had acquired under Arslan. Instead of this, we will content ourselves
● [114] with saying that the Kirghiz-Kazak led a nomadic life, had no chronicles nor any other historical monument of this nature, and, consequently, it is impossible to write a complete and coherent history about them.

Nevertheless this people did not remain entirely unknown to us after Arslan Khan. After having lost the thread of events described by the Oriental historians, we begin to find the Kazaks again, or, as they are called [139] today, the Kirghiz-Kazaks, in the works of European travelers and in Russian chronicles; and independently of the evidence which they furnish us, we have the archives to guide us, which preserve unimpeachable testimony of Russia's specific relations with different peoples of Asia.

Herberstein is the first of the European historians (1) to

> 1. Herberstein arrived in Moscow for the first time in 1517 and for the second time in 1526. See Karamzin's history of the Russian empire, Vol. VII, notes 165 ff.

speak of the Kazak horde. Having twice been ambassador of the Holy Roman Emperor to Tsar Ivan Vasilievich, and having

[145 cont.]

175 721 Turkestan at the beginning of the 17th century, and this city was always the residence of their khans. The year in which this conquest took place and the leader of the campaign are unknown. We could not even discover where Khan Murtaza, Kuchum's father, lived, nor whether his descendants reigned over the Kirghiz [-Kazaks] for a long period. Nor did we have any more success in our research concerning Khan Ak-Nazar, who attacked the uluses of the Nogais in 1569, when Semen Maltsov, the envoy of Tsar Ivan the Terrible was there (2). We have gathered

2. See above, p. 140.

some definite evidence, however, that Ishim khan of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, held Turkestan around 1630.

175 [114] Abulgazi Baiadur is the first to speak of it, and it is referred to for the second time in the Annals of Siberia. We have found still more information about it in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg, in the file for 1748.

Abulgazi Baiadur made the acquaintance of the Kirghiz-Kazaks and Khan Ishim about the year 1630 (3), because at this

3. Histoire Généalogique des Tatars, /Leiden, 1726/, Pt. IX, Chapter XI.

time he was forced by his brother Isfandiar, khan of Urgendzhi, to flee his homeland, and he withdrew to Turkestan, where Khan Ishim [146] received him and protected him for three months. After that he escorted him to Tashkent and placed him under the protection of Tursun, khan of that country. Two years later these two princes fell into disagreement. Ishim killed Tursun and seized Tashkent, and Abulgazi withdrew into the realm of Bukhara.

[662 578] 175 721 Ishim Khan is known in the Siberian chronicles for his disagreements and his wars, and particularly for the wars of his son Djangir, or Iangir, with the kungtaidii of the Dzungars, Batur, or Bagatyr (1). Fisher says that Bagatyr opened war on

1. Fisher, Sibirskaia Istoriia..., Bk. IV, Pt. 3, paragraph 13.

[148 cont.]

175 643 were contemporaries of the Kungtaidji Bagatyre. A second proof can be added to this first one, namely, that in our table, as well as in the history, the son of Ishim is named Djangir.

In this way we find that Djadek, father of Shigai and grandfather of Ishim, lived with his brother Usiak toward the middle of the 16th century, that is, at the same time as the khan of Siberia, Kuchum, and his father, Murtaza. However, we do not know whether they were related nor whether they came from the same branch.

●[14] Our knowledge does not go beyond Djadek and Usiak. In the middle of the last [18th] century, Tevkelev could not know the name of their father, because of the lapse of time since he had lived, and consequently it is still less possible to know it today.

175 643 554 From the questions we posed on this subject to Kazaks in the years 1820, 1821, and 1822, we learned only that their khans and sultans consider themselves the descendants of Chingis Khan. Most of the princes of upper Asia accord themselves this honor, and it is rarely without grounds. It is possible that many of the Kazak chiefs have a right to it, like many other Chingisids who received no other heritage from their strong and terrible ancestor but his name.

Abulgazi Baiadur proves that Kuchum, khan of Siberia, was descended from Sheibani, the grandson of Chingis, but Kuchum is known to have been a Kazak sultan, and therefore it is not surprising that other Kazak khans and sultans are also descended from Sheibani. Following [149] this first manuscript chart, if we go down from Ishim and Djangir, whose existence is known to us, to times closer to our own, we see that after Djangir comes his son, Khan Tiavka.

175 643 728 669 On hearing the name of this prince, the heart of every Kazak capable, through intelligence, of rising above his turbulent compatriots is filled with gratitude and veneration. He is the Lycurgus and Draco of the Kazak hordes. Once more he brought peace among them after the bloody dissensions. He stopped the

175 [154 cont.]
128 demarcation dividing the history of the Kazaks into two parts.

The union of the Middle Horde and the Little Horde to
175 Russia brought them closer to us, but it did not give us the means
128 of following the successive march of events which took place in
114 the Great Horde, which remained independent. For this reason our historical information on its situation in the 18th century is far more imperfect than that which we possess on the Kazaks who were Russian subjects. This makes it necessary for us to divide [155] into two parts the period from 1730 to our times. In the first part we will examine the history of the Great Horde, while in the second there will be an account of the events which took place in the Middle Horde and the Little Horde.

Chapter IV. A Look at the History of the Great Horde from 1730 until our Times.

x648 Having said that the Kazak Great Horde did not participate at all in the voluntary submission of the two other hordes to Russia, we must first clarify a fact which could be imputed to us as a contradiction.

It is seen in the archives as well as in Rychkov's history of Orenburg that Sultan Erali, who traveled to St. Petersburg to submit in person for his father Abulkhair to the Empress Anna, was accompanied by "deputies of the Great Horde, who came to give the same assurances of submission, and this horde, like the other two, received a letter patent for its acceptance among Russian subjects on July 10, 1734."

If there were no fabrication in this matter, it alone would suffice, no doubt, to refute our statement. But a thorough investigation of the events of this period proves the contrary to be the case.

x648 The Kazaks Aralbai and Arasgeldy-Batyr, who accom-
662 panied Sultan Erali to St. Petersburg, did indeed belong to the Great Horde, but they were neither its deputies nor its representatives. Instead they were only the partisans or mercenaries of Khan Abulkhair, who [156] wished, by attributing to himself

[214 cont.]

X 648 [614] obtain auxiliary troops in order to take vengeance against Barak for the assassination of his father. In his second request he asked that those Kazaks whom he described as men of evil intent and harmful to Russia should be arrested on the borders.

X 648 662 Barak or his successors and their followers would have failed to escape the vengeance of Abulkhair's sons, no doubt, if they had received support in troops from Russia. But Nurali's exploits would not have ended there. He had planned to use the Russian troops against all his enemies, and especially against those princes of the Middle Horde who did not honor him and whom he wished to annihilate in order to subject their descent lines and tribes to his brothers, and then he would have made himself sole khan of both the Middle and the Little Hordes.

The second request, to arrest the Kazaks of evil intent on the Russian borders, also tended to the same end. He represented it as a necessary measure for the security of Russia, but ambition was its true motive.

On the one hand, the execution of this demand would have been really useful and indispensable for the Russians, for it would have made it possible to deliver into the hands of justice at least a part of the brigands, and, by adding to the power of the Khan, [439] it would have given him new means of acting upon his people. But on the other hand, it could have been the source of an endless number of injustices and would have abolished the commercial exchange which was then just beginning to be established between the Russians and the Kazaks.

For these reasons, the Khan's first request was formally refused, and it was promised that the second would be considered.

X 648 [765] Upon his departure from Orenburg, Nurali, in the name of his brothers and his mother Papai, voiced the desire to have some great monument on his father's grave and requested 1,000 workers for 15 days for this end (1). This wish was nothing more than the

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1. All the conversations which the khans had with the border commanders [215] were written down in journals which have been

[214 cont.]

preserved until today in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

result [215] of the vanity which is very common among the Kazaks. But since there was nothing harmful in it, Nepluev reported it to the higher authorities. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs not only consented to satisfy the wish of Abulkhair's family, but even found that its execution would be useful, if Nurali consented to choose the site of the burial monument in the vicinity of the Russian border and to bring the body of his father there. Then a rule could be established of burying all the khans of the Little Horde there, and a city could be erected near the cemetery which Abulkhair himself had asked to be built. It was resolved, in accordance with these considerations, to yield to Nurali's wish, and a civilian official and an engineer sent from Orenburg announced to him the conditions under which this work had to be carried out. The official was told to invite Nurali to locate the site of the sepulcher three or four days' journey from the Russian border, above all on the Ilek River, and to associate a town with it. The engineer was ordered to examine the site, draw a map of it, and to make the façade of the monument.

This object gave rise to correspondence and conferences which went on for several years. Regulating itself according to circumstances and the conduct of the Khan, the Russian government showed itself sometimes ready and sometimes averse to carrying out his desire. Finally the project was relegated to oblivion, as we shall see below. The reasons for it were strong enough on both sides.

Nurali was afraid of establishing himself near the Russian military lines, and his subjects were against it. Thus the first response they gave as the choice of a site was too undecisive. Subsequently it was proposed to lay the foundation of the cemetery and build the town at the mouth of the Emba instead of on the Ilek River, but since this river too was near the border, and the Kazaks also feared to settle there (1), [216] the khan for the second

1. Second Lieutenant Rigelman, who went

[296 cont.]

[646] studs, to avenge themselves for the thefts and offenses committed [727] against them by the Bashkirs. Finally, this group decided to withdraw into the depths of their steppes and did not agree to come near the Russian borders except on the invitation of General Viazmitinov, the commander in chief of the Orenburg region.

[692] In 1798 it was ordered that a tribunal be established, after the example of the Little Horde and on the request of Khan Vali, in the fort of Petropavlovsk, for the judgment of suits and disputes between the Kazaks of the Middle Horde and the residents along the Siberian border. This tribunal, made up of deputies of these two peoples, was organized in 1800, but the Kazak members let several years pass without appearing, so that it was not opened until 1806.

Here we end the detailed description of the Kazak hordes. [14] Having shown everything which took place among these peoples until the end of the 18th century, we will not speak of the events of the 19th century. The time which has passed since its beginning is still too close to us, and the judgments we could bring to this period would seem either partial, or misplaced, or doubtful.

We consider it necessary, however, to mark the transition between the past and the present by indicating briefly the order of succession of the khans of the Middle Horde and the Little Horde of the Kazaks.

[643 578] Vali, who succeeded his father in 1781, reigned until his death, which came in 1818. However in his last years he was not the sole khan of the Middle Horde, for because of [297] his quarrels with several tribal chiefs and at the request of several Kazaks, in 1816 Emperor Alexander designated a second khan for this horde, who was Bukei, son of Barak, and who died in 1818.

[631] With him the title of khan died out in the Middle Horde. Today it is divided into districts and governed by a special regulation which we will enter at the end of this work. [This section not translated.]

[643] Aichuvak ruled the Little Horde until 1805 and then abdicated of his own accord because of old age and illness.

His successor was his son Djantiura, who was assassinated by his cousins, the sons of Khan Nurali, and their accomplices.

[301 cont.]
643 adopted the names of the Great (1), the Middle, and the Little
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1. The other hordes regard the Great Horde as the oldest.

161 Horde. Tradition also has it that the difference in population of
631 the groups was caused by war and varying success, and as the divisions gradually increased, each one divided into several descent lines which took the names of their chiefs or kept the names of their ancient ancestors, such as the Naimans, the Kipchaks, etc. The descent lines were subdivided in turn into tribes, and the latter into sections, the sections into branches, and the branches into parts. It is almost impossible to enumerate all these subdivisions. The work necessary (2) for such an enterprise would

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2. What zeal and love for genealogy one would need to have to decide to verify and examine the reports of the Kazaks! One says that his tribe is divided into five or six sections. Another asserts that it is divided into twelve. A [302] third confuses the sections of his tribe with those of the neighboring tribes. Finally, a fourth, who is more honest than any of the others, frankly admits his ignorance.

require too much patience and, above all, a long sojourn among the Kazaks, not only in every tribe or section, but also in every part of a section.

621 Thus we will limit ourselves to enumerating the descent
631 lines and the tribes, beginning with the Little Horde, as the
611 closest to Europe. We base ourselves on Tevkelev's memoirs
[114] written more than a century ago. (See the historical section [not translated]). In the opinion of the Kazaks themselves, the information contained in these memoirs is worthy of the greatest confidence, both by their precision and by the circumstances under which they were written.

[304 cont.]

565 and the Black bone. The White bone is made up only of khans and
611 their descendants, who have the title of sultans. /305] Zealous
643 Moslems also put in this class the khojas, or descendants of saints
792 in the Moslem chronicle of saints (1). The name of Black bone

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1. Timkovskii, in his Journey to Peking, gives approximately the same meaning to the word khoja. Klaproth, in his notes to the French translation of this work, opposes Timkovskii's opinion. As for me, I repeat what I have heard many times from Kazak lips.

is used not only for the common people but also for the elders and other chiefs who do not have a hereditary position.

According to this distinction, one says "here is a sultan of the pure white bone," because he is descended from a khan in both the male and female line, and "this man is of mixed white bone," because his mother is of common descent.

554 Thus one finds among the Kazaks the hereditary distinctions to which so much value is attached in Europe. Savages know how to take pride in services rendered by others, as we do, and to claim privileges as a recompense for the merit of their ancestors.

565 567 We do not place the Telenguts, or servants of the khans (2),

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2. The Telenguts are of Mongol origin but were subjugated by the Kazaks and have adopted the language of their masters. See on this subject, Klaproth's note in his Magasin Asiatique, vol. I, p. 19.

in a special class, nor the kuls, or slaves. The former are accepted among the people and enjoy the same rights, while the latter are considered as chattel or merchandise and are not Kazaks. These are the Russian, Persian, Kalmuk, and other prisoners.

/203 cont./

221 (primarily with the well-being of the livestock), but even here
594 he finds time "to see his friends" /tamyrnichat'/, i.e., to ride from kstau to kstau (winter camp) to visit, eat a great deal, bring and listen to news.

181 The Kirghiz-Kazak are the most cultured people among the Turks wandering in Asia, and there is no doubt that a better future lies before them. Their number is increasing and they are showing themselves to be receptive to cultural advancements.

One may judge the comparative level of culture of the Kirghiz-Kazak in part by the character of their language, by the means and forms they have for expressing their thoughts, by the richness of the folk literature, and finally by the state of development of the arts.

114 Some Russian ethnologists (Patkanov, for example) relate
197 the Kirghiz-Kazak dialect to the eastern group of the Turkic language, while others (Radlov) relate it to the western group, and more precisely to a special form of it -- the Kirghiz (which
212 is spoken by all the Turks in our region). The Kirghiz /Kazak/
195 use the Arabic alphabet, which began to be spread among the
191 Turks of Central Asia in the 8th century along with Islam. Before this (from the 4th century) they had the Syrian alphabet (brought in by Christians of the Nestorian sect). The enigmatic runic writing discovered by archeologists in Eastern Siberia has also been shown to belong to the Turks and not to the ancient Slavs, Finns, Jews, or other peoples, as many thought. A variety of the Syrian alphabet is retained now only among the Mongols and Manchu, while the remaining Turks use the Arabic alphabet.

193 The Turkic language is one of the uninflected languages (having little development of grammatical relations between words). Its structure is based on the building of words, i.e., the grammatical relationship between words is expressed not by changing the original form of the word, but by adding suffixes (affixes) and insertions (infixes) to it. In this the link between the roots and these additions is so weak that all the

INTRODUCTION[1]

Kazakhstan, the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, extends from the Caspian Sea to the Sino-Soviet frontier of Sinkiang, including within its borders an environment ranging from arid deserts to fertile mountain valleys. It covers an area of more than one million square miles—about four times that of Texas. It is the second largest unit in the Soviet Union, immediately following the Russian republic.

Size is not the only impressive feature of Kazakhstan. Budgetwise the republic ranks third among the 16 republics of the USSR, after Russia and Ukraine, and ahead of several considerably more populous administrative units. Its importance for Soviet production was enhanced by the industrial developments of World War II. The mining and industrial concentrations of Karaganda and of the eastern part of Kazakhstan lie about midway between the western boundaries of the Soviet satellite empire and the Siberian shores of the Pacific. Postwar planning clearly reflects the Soviet estimate of the potentialities of the area's natural resources in the effort to create in Central Asia a "freedom-loving peoples' arsenal for peace."

The Soviet Central Asian basin is separated from the non-Soviet world by high mountain chains and deserts. The Turkic peoples of the USSR, who number about 15 million and thus form the largest non-Slavic minority in the Soviet Union, have lived in and traveled about this area for centuries. The Kazakhs and the other Turkic groups share many similarities in language and in culture. They also experience in common a conflict between their traditional way of life and the policies imposed upon them by the Central Communist regime, a conflict as acute as that experienced by any of the other minority peoples.

The present study of the Kazakh way of life was undertaken in an endeavor to determine the nature and source of these conflicts, and to examine the problems created thereby for Moscow. In addition, the report sets forth information gathered concerning the communication patterns and facilities of the republic insofar as these are relevant to the possible needs of psychological warfare.

This section summarizes those aspects of the deep-seated differences between the Soviet and native Kazakh cultures which can most

[1]Part I was written by Thomas Gladwin, Human Resources Research Office, and Lawrence Krader, Bureau of Social Science Research.

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Chapter 2

A DEMOGRAPHIC SKETCH[1]

161 It is the history of the population trends of the Kazakhs which singles this people out for study among all the peoples of Central Asia. Comparison of the two censuses which the Soviets have published, in 1926 and in 1939, shows that the Kazakhs suffered severe population losses between those years. Longer-term trends show that they constitute an ever-decreasing proportion of the people living in their native land. These population factors are of immediate interest in the study of the Kazakhs, but in addition it is obvious that the history of a people is closely related to the fate of its numbers, their growth and decline, and the possible causes one can find for these trends.

KAZAKHS PRIOR TO 1917

The Kazakh population figures indicate great oscillations over the past century; great increases are followed by sharp dips. Close study of these demographic trends should reveal many clear reflections of Kazakh internal developments and relations with other peoples—their neighbors and conquerors.

[649] The first estimates of the numerical strength of the Kazakhs appeared shortly after the Russian penetration into Turkestan early in the 19th century. At that time the Russians had not yet conquered all the Kazakhs; many peoples of Central Asia, including part of the Kazakhs, were still either semi-independent, living in the khanates of Bukhara, Khiva, and Kokand, or else under Chinese rule. Early Russian travelers, explorers, commercial agents, and intelligence agents began to bring back information about the Kazakhs, including population estimates.

● 114 113 [1] Space for reporting the study of Kazakh demography is limited. In the few pages of this report devoted to this rich topic only a few of the many data and analyses available can be introduced. During the past few years, Dr. Frank Lorimer has directed the study of Kazakh demography by Miss Faye Goldware and Mr. John Grauman (89). The reports on Kazakh demography prepared by and under Dr. Lorimer are available at the Bureau of Social Science Research and at the Bureau of the Census. The contents of this chapter have drawn heavily upon the work of these persons, and for fuller treatment and documentation of the topic the reader is directed to their writings. Responsibility for the conclusions drawn and for the formulations in this chapter rests, of course, only with those who have contributed to this report.

live as an independent unit, even though they had their own tent; the group was still part of the husband's father's household.[1]

Extensive studies done in the early 1920's by Rudenko describe the family life among Kazakhs of the Middle Horde. In one aul or nomadic village, there were 13 tents in a line. Five of the 13 "belonged" to the head of the aul, and of these three contained women; that is, three were tents of married persons, for women received tents only on marriage. Rich auls were small, with few families; poor auls were large, with many families joining in their poverty. One such poor aul contained 60 families; Samoilovich describes a richer grouping of 505 tents in 100 auls of three to eight tents each.[2]

Very little information is available on the size of households or the extended family. Samoilovich gave 2,408 as the number of individuals living in the 505 tents, or 4.76 per tent.[3] Equating tents with married couples, but also allowing for bachelors and childless couples in some tents, one can infer a high fertility in this particular community. This account is one of the very few detailed demographic pictures of a small community of Kazakhs living in the traditional fashion. It is difficult to generalize from such a description, but one gets a sense of the direction such figures are likely to take.

In Turkic nomad communities there are generally fewer women than men; a ratio of 900 females to 1,000 males exists among Kazakhs. The Kirgiz and the Yakut of Northern Siberia present a similar picture. Among these people, however, men tend to marry late in life, while social norms dictate that women marry early. This is shown by the fact that, in 1926, 41 out of every 1,000 Kazakh males reached the age of 40 unmarried, while only three out of every 1,000 women were still single at 40. More than 75 per cent of the women married by the age of 20; Kazakh men reached that percentage only in the age group 30-34. Hence there is actually a surplus of women seeking marriage, and this allows for a certain amount of polygamy, since a woman will marry a man who already has a wife rather than remain unmarried.

As noted before, the extended family is patriarchal in character; authority is vested in the senior male of the household. All decisions rest with him, and rarely can appeal be made beyond his word. The entire society centers around the father-son axis, the central point of the marriage life and family happiness is the bearing of a son. The son is the assurance that the line will be continued; on a larger scale, this pattern of descent in the paternal line is the web that holds the society together. This is an extreme case of a father-son oriented society. Few of the factors which tend to modify strict patriarchal control in other societies can be seen here. The Chinese and the Japanese have a patrilineal family system, but in these societies, although the father is the center of authority, the mother is the center of a different circle of emotion, one of love and warmth, and the family life involves both circles.

[1] USSR Census 1926, vol. 54.
[2] Rudenko *et al*, 1930, p. 311.
[3] Samoilovich, in Rudenko *et al*, 1930.

K 177 life of the republic. There is reason to doubt the population picture provided by Soviet figures. Since polygamy is illegal in the Soviet Union, polygamous marriages are carefully concealed from the Soviet registry. A recent ethnographic report notes that registration of marriage is far from general among the Kazakhs. There are cases in which birth registration has been delayed in order to register children by one wife in the name of another—another Kazakh device designed to circumvent the prohibition of polygamy. Similarly, practices such as leviratic marriage are maintained, concealed as much as possible from the Soviet authorities.[1]

K 114 177 The source for these data is a series of reports published in the past five years by the Soviet ethnographer, O.A. Korbe. He and his staff have advanced the thesis that Kazakh society in the Soviet period includes a number of institutions which have survived from pre-Soviet days. A rebuttal has been entered by another Soviet ethnographer, a K [815] Kazakh, Sabitov. Basing his report on field work in the summer of 1952, Sabitov seeks to show that rural Kazakhs have been transformed entirely by the process of Sovietization. His conclusions are supported by a certain amount of illustrative material; for example, he asserts that kolkhoz houses show Russian influence and that Russian craftsmen are employed for making stoves. Utensils used in daily life are for the most part contemporary in both design and production. Clothing, on the other hand, is in part traditional, in part modern.[2]

Sabitov's data are highly selective, for they concern only material culture—housing, dress, utensils. He merely states, without specific supporting data, that there have been changes in the social relations, the spiritual culture, and other aspects of Kazakh society. That there have been changes is obvious. Korbe stresses the traditional, the "survivals"; Sabitov stresses the new elements. Neither has examined the interrelations of Kazakh culture and society with the Russian.

K 369 Little information is available on Kazakhs living in cities. Those Kazakhs who have moved into urban areas apparently show little external KN [341] difference from their Russian neighbors. They live in houses of similar architecture; photographs of KSSR cities reveal a uniform type of architecture among the apartment houses and public buildings which is an amalgam of Central Asiatic and Russian designs. Plans for feeding the K [261] cities of Kazakhstan recognize no cultural differences (see Chapter 5 on Economy). The Russian food pattern predominates: potatoes, vegetables, meat, and milk products. Kazakh dietary customs exclude pork, KN [369] which is a typical Russian food carried by the Russians into Central Asia. One infers that segregation according to cultural background exists at least to a certain degree in the cities. The separation of Kazakhs from Russians is clearly not a public policy, nor is it a folk K [186] practice. The best explanation appears to be that the Kazakhs prefer to keep to themselves, and the Russians likewise.

K 177 This attitude of holding off is shown in the intermarriage pattern, 186 or rather in the absence of one. The evidence is sparse, far from

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.
[2] Sabitov, 1953, pp. 97-99.

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Chapter 4

RELIGION

THE MOSLEM RELIGION AND THE KAZAKHS

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The Turkic peoples of Central Asia—Kazakh, Kirgiz, Uzbek, Kashgarian, Altai-Turk, Taranchi, and Sart—are divided by habitat and occupation regarding their religious practices and beliefs. The city-dwelling Turk and the farming Turk have been under Islamic influence for many centuries; the Turkic cities of Central Asia have been among the great centers of Islamic culture. The herdsmen of the Central Asiatic steppe, on the other hand, are Islamic only in circumscribed aspects of their religious life. There is an interplay between these two divisions, farmers and herders, which deserves careful treatment, for it is of especial significance today.

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No adequate survey of the religion of the Kazakhs has been made. This is unfortunate, for analysis of the various components of Kazakh religion is a complex task and one with profound significance to the purposes of psychological warfare and political understanding. There is a widespread belief among both scholars and laymen that the Kazakhs are Moslems, and should be treated accordingly. The roots of this belief lie in the past, along with certain errors regarding the language of the Kazakhs. About 80 years ago, the Russian Orientalist and political adviser V. Grigoriev, in an article entitled "Russian Policy in Asia," appended to Schuyler's Turkistan, wrote the following:[1]

> "We [Russians] imagined that the Kirghiz [Kazakhs] were the same ethnographically as our Volga Tartars, and therefore for one hundred and twenty years we carried on all our correspondence with them in the Tartar language in the full assurance that we were communicating with them in the native tongue which they fully understood while, in fact, it was exactly the same as writing to Spaniards in Italian. . . . Still worse results followed another misunderstanding of ours was, that the Kirghiz were Mahommedans, whereas in the last [18th] century they were almost all Shamanists, and a large number of them remain so to this time. At the epoch of their nominal union with Russia only a very few of the Khans and Sultans had a confused idea of the dogmas of Islam and performed some few of its rites. Not a single mosque then existed in the Kirghiz Steppes, not a single mullah performed there the rites of the Mussulman religion, and if since that time the Kirghiz have really become Mussulmans to a considerable degree, it is only owing to our taking them for Mussulmans, and to our treating them as such. An incontrovertible proof that the

[1] Schuyler (1876), Vol. 2, 1876, pp. 404-405.

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> Mussulman propaganda in one form or another went into the Kirghiz Steppes from the side of Russia is the circumstance that especially those Kirghiz who live along our lines have become Mussulman, while the old genuine Shamanism is kept up, even at the present time, among those Kirghiz particularly who wander in the neighborhood of Khiva, Bukhara, and what was formerly Khokand, that is, in really Mussulman country."

Grigoriev ascribed too much importance to the weight of Russian intermediation on behalf of Islam, and thus continued the same sort of error he was describing; the Russian authorities greatly overestimated the role of Islam among the Kazakhs, while Grigoriev overestimated the role of the Russians in bringing it to them. Study of the problem of acculturation has made anthropologists today less naive concerning a people's capacity to accept or reject a given element from another culture. However, Grigoriev is correct in recording the error involved in official Russian recognition of Islam as the religion of the Kazakhs.

[171] This error is part of a still larger one, that of failing to understand the cultural diversity in Central Asia, a matter which is implied by the error in language mentioned by Grigoriev. The Kazakhs have a different language from the Tartars of European Russia, as well as a different religion, economy, and social organization.

Grigoriev, on the other hand, calls attention to an important distinction regarding the religion of the Kazakhs, or as he calls them, the

[565] Kirghiz: Only the ruling strata of Kazakh society had any degree of contact with Islam in the 18th century, when the Russian conquest began. This fact is independently corroborated by A. Bennigsen, who has conducted research among the Kazakh displaced persons of World War II, now living in Paris. Bennigsen writes, "It is only among certain D.P.'s who are descendants of the families of 'feudal bais' that we have observed the survival of the Moslem faith."[1] Only in families of this social class has there been any sort of Moslem tradition or learning.

The Russian empire in the 18th and 19th centuries sought to use the religion of Islam as a bridge into the society and political life of the Kazakhs. A similar tactic has been used repeatedly by the Soviet regime.

[538] The results have been negligible. In the words of a modern-day Kazakh poet and novelist, Sabit Mukanov:

> "For many historical reasons, the Kazakh masses took relatively poorly to the religious traditions [of Islam], and the Kazakh woman was not subjected to the yoke of the laws of the Shariat to the same degree that, for instance, the Uzbek women were. The Kazakh women were never veiled; they took part in festivals together with men."[2]

In addition to Mukanov's statement that the Kazakh woman was not

[569] put into the harem or otherwise sealed off from the world, as the Moslem woman is supposed to be, other reports indicate that the nomadic woman is notably freer than the woman of the settled villages and cities of Central Asia. This is an important index to the degree of influence which Islam practices have had on the life of the Kazakhs.

[1] Personal communication.
[2] Mukanov, 1949, p. 5.

Mukanov offers another measure of the impact of Islam in his reference to the Shariat. The Shariat is technically the canonical law of Islam. Unlike the canonical law of western civilization, however, it governs the entire life of the devout Moslem, not merely his relationship to his church. The Shariat governs, in theory, the daily habits of the Moslem, prescribes whom he may or may not marry, and sets forth the entire body of social relations and controls—between master and servant, man and woman, parent and child, ruler and governed. The fact that the very existence of this body of rules of conduct is little known among the nomadic Kazakhs is of great significance. Taken in combination with other less striking bits of evidence, it points to the superficiality of the Kazakhs' adoption of Islam. Although Moslem observance and practice is everywhere more formalized in urban than in rural surroundings, for the nomadic Kazakhs it is not merely less systematic; it is also less important.

KAZAKH FOLK RELIGIONS

At the end of the 19th century a Russian, Poiarkov, traveled among the Kazakhs in the northeast of their domain, in Semirechie in the territory of the Great Horde. He learned that these Kazakhs had not seen a mullah, or Moslem cleric, until some 15 or 20 years before his travels. In the 1890's mullahs were still exceedingly rare among the Kazakhs who lived near the Chinese border. Few Kazakhs knew Moslem prayers, or if they did, only inaccurately; few knew the Koran.[1]

Because he did not overestimate the influence of Islam on the Kazakhs, Poiarkov was able to supply positive details of the religions of these people. He distinguished between two layers, the remains of the old folk religion and an overlay of the new Islamic faith among the literate. The most important of the old beliefs or cults is that centered around the soul of the deceased ancestor, arvak among the Kirgiz, aurak among the Kazakhs. These ancestors represent a strong force among their living descendants and are prayed to and invoked in time of need. The ancestor cult forms an integral part of the traditional social structure of the Kazakhs, built as it is around the genealogy and the preservation of the descent line. However, according to Poiarkov, the cult of ancestors was weakening under the impact of Islam on the one hand and Russian acculturation on the other.[2]

The term shamanism is often mentioned in connection with the Kazakhs. In this religion the leader, or shaman, is ecstatic, hysterical, marked by abnormal behavior (not only according to the standards of western society, but also according to his own); he is considered to be possessed by and have control over the world of the spirits, and by entering into relations with them can use them to his own will. He cures illnesses, has powers of divination, can avert misfortune and the evil eye. For many centuries he has been far in advance of western medicine by recognizing psychosomatic disorders; he concentrates on them, and so

[1] Poiarkov, 1895, pp. 21-22.
[2] Ibid., pp. 25-28.